5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 [563] has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possible in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition [665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, [591] and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Administration. [647] Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay [465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

• 471 [472] Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members [596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Toucouleur, [736] has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

live whilst waiting to find work; it permits those who are ill, those incapable of work, and those without resources to be taken care of and not die of hunger.'

Probably the most important barrier to the accumulation of capital has been Senegal's dependence on a one-crop economy of ground-nuts. The method of cultivation of ground-nuts and their comparatively low price per ton have worked against the creation of large scale plantations, for instance of cocoa and coffee, which have supplied individual entrepreneurs in the Western Region of Nigeria, in Ghana and in the Ivory Coast with their capital.

These are all factors to set against a situation which otherwise might be explosive. Africanisation has always been a problem in the Senegal and it has increased as the number of professionally trained Africans has increased. But historically, and even today, it has been most acute in the Administration, employment in which is the goal of most young Senegalese. Thus very often commerce is left with the second best. Even so French commercial houses have done far less comparatively to train up an efficient African subaltern class, let alone a managerial élite, than say a company like the United Africa Company in Nigeria. And whilst Senegal was under French control the Administration did very little indeed to encourage Africanisation of commerce.

The present day Senegalese Government, however, recognises the danger of the present position and its efforts to rectify the situation should not be interpreted as a new form of racism but as an honest attempt to maintain the present excellent racial situation. Though the Government has placed many limitations on the autonomy of the trade unions it could not for long suppress criticism of the present structure of Dakar, particularly as Senegal, like all African countries, is subject to propaganda from every quarter. The truth is that there are far too many Europeans doing jobs that Africans could do. In small tea rooms it is not rare to be served by a French girl, for this tea shop is in

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 563 fact a family concern where it is considered more economical to employ the daughter of the family in menial work than a Senegalese. To counter this the Senegalese Government has studiously avoided any open declaration on the undesirability of this situation, but by a series of discriminatory [651] taxes hopes to make the position of the marginal *petit blanc* untenable. In this way it is hoped that European employment will be reduced by half within the next four years. Thus whilst the European population of Senegal was given [162] as 46,500 in 1956, about 40,000 in 1960, the Government hopes to have it reduced to about 30,000 by 1965.

[655] One of the ways in which the Government is attempting to overcome the twin problem of European domination of [471] commerce and the lack of private indigenous capital, is the establishment of state trading companies and co-operatives to compete in the marketing of ground-nuts and other basic Senegalese products. Also in order to reduce Senegal's dependence on expatriate technicians and minor [874] functionaries it is expanding technical education and spending considerable sums on the training of Africans overseas. In the initial stages this will only remove those Europeans who were doing jobs that can easily be taken over by Senegalese once they have received basic training. There is no reason to suppose that the European Community will diminish by much more than the numbers cited above envisaged by the planners, since the anticipated expansion of the Senegalese economy under the four-year plan should be able to absorb the marginal cases who might otherwise have been forced to return to France. Nor indeed is it the intention of the Senegalese to get rid of the Europeans for the sake of getting rid of them, since the Government still maintains that the two groups can co-exist to their mutual benefit but that it must prevent the seeds of racial tension from germinating.

563 There is of course amongst the young and particularly among students some difference of opinion over this matter. [208] Not all of them hold such liberal views, particularly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

school leavers who characterise every West African town from Dakar to Douala, and whose numbers will increase in future under the new plan, since by 1964-65 it is hoped over 50 per cent of children of school age will be at primary school.

The whole plan is to cost £135 million, much of the money to be drawn from abroad, and much from private sources. As can be seen from the table below the emphasis is on social improvement rather than the creation of great gesture industries.

	Percentages	
	Of public investments	*Of total investments*
Infrastructure	33·9	18·75
Agriculture	18·0	13·4
Commerce and Industry ..	7·0	44·4
Education	12·2	6·7
Health	5·3	2·9
Housing	7·2	10·9
Administrative	5·5	3·0

It is a socialist plan at heart. The state will be taking over large sectors of the economy. Already the state trading organisation for the marketing of ground-nuts with the aid of local co-operatives has taken over the marketing of over a quarter of the crop from private commerce. But it is doing this in direct competition with them, to ensure that the organisation is commercially viable. Senghor believes 'Where private capitalism comes into peaceful competition with socialism, the latter must, I feel sure, emerge triumphant . . .'

On the other hand Senegal is not trying to discourage private enterprise, for, as can be seen from the above table, it accounts for much of the capital for the plan. Indeed, particularly favourable concessions are made to it. What

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

433 668 [491] the Government is trying to do is take out of its hands the control of the basic economy, such as the ground-nut crop, and to ensure that the maximum benefit accrues to Senegal from overseas investment.

The distinguishing feature of the plan is its reliance not on *investissement humain* on Chinese lines, a method which tends to be favoured by the Guinea and Mali Governments, but on *animation rural*. It is believed that compulsory forced [466] labour is not satisfactory to the people who are undertaking it, even if it is ostensibly in their own interests, first because it is compulsory, and secondly because it can suffer from excessive planning by the centre, so that the people may be 'investing' their labour in things which in the first place they do not want, and which in the second place fail, as certain agricultural schemes have done in Russia and China, as a result of overcentralised planning.

433 668 659 Basically *animation* is what we would call 'community development', but it is to be operated in the context of the general plan for the Senegal, touching on education and medical services as well as economic development. The idea is that people in villages should be asked what they want: a new road; a new dispensary etc. It will then be explained to them that such things have not been achieved up till now through lack of funds but that the Government is prepared to put its services at the disposal of the villagers to build a road or some such if the villagers are prepared to provide labour. The object then is to find out what villag- [496] ers really want and to stimulate them into wanting them enough to supply labour for them. In any chosen area, then, a member of the Ministry of Planning and Development (Animation Section) will go into the village and enlist the people's co-operation in selecting an intelligent man who is sufficiently respected both by the traditionalists and by the youth to be able to put over these new ideas of community development. He is then sent on an 'animation course' where he is taught improved farming and other methods and is (it is hoped) inspired with the need for

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

we plan to build a modern port; and there in the Soudan we hope to develop livestock for export. For that we would need a number of large refrigeration units here in Dakar.'

Thus he continued in detail all over the vast area of French West Africa stretching from St. Louis to the Chad, from the Sahara to the Guinea Coast, with an area of nearly 1,840,000 square miles, and a meagre population of 18 millions. I pointed to Nigeria and Ghana.

'I am afraid we British took the best bits of West Africa. Yet we haven't put nearly as much money into it by comparison. I wonder what Nigeria would be like if you French had got it?'

His eyes looked longingly at the large chunk of red.

'That would be something marvellous!' he said. Since the war the French have poured money into West Africa. Private funds have accounted for a lot, but FIDES, the equivalent of our Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, has contributed more than £175,000,000 to these territories, and together with other public funds the total of capital investment (not from private sources) is more than £300,000,000, for a large, but poor and underpopulated territory.

This heavy capital investment has created large cities like Dakar, Abidjan and Conakry. The Africans have come into contact not only with urban life, but with industry. In Dakar there has been a minor industrial revolution. In the past six years, largely because of this, the city's population has swollen to nearly 300,000. Africans have flooded into the city seeking work, attracted by tales of its gay life or lured by its glamour and the prospect of easy money.

I went down to the large brewery in Dakar, to see a modern industry with Africans as employees.

One of the managers there replied to my question, why weren't there any Africans in senior positions in the brewery. 'We have great difficulty in finding Africans to fill our managerial vacancies. You see, though many go to Paris they nearly all want to become lawyers, doctors, and officials. Very few are interested in becoming technicians. We would pay for their studies if we could find suitable candidates—you know, all part of the *Loi Cadre*. We must Africanize!'

'But haven't you found any good enough?'

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

me. Diop, Faye, one of his friends, who was secretary to the local theatre, and I sat round the large bowl eating with spoons. A number of people passed, and one old man came in to watch us.

'That's our Griot,' Diop told me. A Griot is a member of a special caste, to be found in the Jollof and Mandinka tribes, who sings, drums, dances and tells jokes—a sort of family jester.

He started to talk in rapid Jollof and soon Diop and his friend were in hoots of laughter. For his pains the bowl of rice was handed to him, and another man who joined him.

'Who is he?' I asked.

'Another relation. I have to feed him,' Diop replied.

'One of the greatest problems in Dakar,' an official of IFAN had told me, 'is parasitism. A man will come to Dakar and get himself a good job, say at ten pounds a month. He has his immediate family to look after. Then along comes a cousin, and installs himself. An uncle from the bush comes to stay three days, decides he likes Dakar and fails to return to his village. A man like this may find he is supporting between eight and fifteen dependants.'

'I suppose that explains why Dakar's population is much larger than opportunities for work would justify?'

'Yes. It's a great problem, because it prevents any accumulation of capital by Africans. People complain that there is no African bourgeoisie here, that all the trade is in the hands of Lebanese and small Frenchmen. It's largely because an African here cannot, by the laws of hospitality, refuse to give a bed and food to his fellow tribesmen.'

'Of course, in a way that's a good thing, because no one goes hungry, and it's one way of redistributing wealth voluntarily. A sort of voluntary welfare state.'

'Yes, but if the African is to control the economy of his own economy, he must be rid of this scourge.'

In Gorée I met a Frenchman to whom Senegalese soldiers used to come immediately after their discharge from the Army to leave all their new clothes and money, otherwise they would have returned to the town to hear: 'Oh, you are the most wonderful, most bountiful man alive.' After that there would have been little left of their money.

Diop was perhaps a classic example of parasitism. He himself was a borrower, only to have other people borrowing from him.

/76 cont./

369 441 563 443 local products (groundnuts, millet ...) are bought or bartered for.

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

369 433 458 Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which assured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

[471] [563] The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, resulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a readaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 498 433 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies, the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an expansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 [162] [511] [361] On the eve of the Second World War the city reached the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans. The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/123 cont./

439 Commerce. Commerce has not stopped progressing since the end of the war, for both imports and exports.

Fabrics constitute the principal part of the imports, along with toys and construction materials.

The groundnut is the principal product exported. It is the one that makes up the wealth of the region.

[471] Commerce is for the most part in the hands of French Sociétés /companies/ or individuals, who have established branches in all the important centers. These branches have been multiplying in the past several years and even extend into the small villages which are disposal centers /124/ for the sought-after agricultural product. Today the truck penetrates into the most remote corners. In other words the farmer no longer has to put himself out in order to sell his products. One comes to him to buy his groundnuts at the very place of the harvest. The petty retail trade is in the hands of native [443] traders or Syrian merchants.

Imports. We saw above the figures for the movement of navigation and the tonnage of the goods unloaded in the various ports. The high prices for fabrics that have been reached in the last three or four years have caused a certain drop in business, from which the wholesale trade and the retail trade have suffered.

439 505 Exports. We are giving below the figures for the export of groundnuts. As is known, for Senegal the past two years have been calculated at a tonnage of 483,980 tons in 1926 and 485,608 tons in 1927, with a respective value of 740 million and 616 million.

Out of this total, the share of the ports of the Saloum, going back to 1921, is the following: